

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-03

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FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5290

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 4448

THREE COPIES ONLY FOR EUR/EE ANDREWS FROM BROWN

EO 11652XGDS-3
TAGS: OGEN
SUBJ: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

REF: STATE 132667

1. WE HAVE READ REFTEL WITH GREAT INTEREST
AND MUCH APPRECIATION FOR EE'S KEEPING US SO WELL
INFORMED.

2. THE AMBASSADOR'S TACTICS ON THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT
ISSUE HAVE BEEN TO MAINTAIN CONSTANT AND ESCALATING
PRESSURE FROM ALL THE USG FORA AND INDIVIDUALS WHO
DEAL WITH US-POLISH QUESTIONS. THE SECRETARY'S VIEWS
(PARA 2 REFTEL) ARE CONSISTENT WITH HIS ORAL IN-
STRUCTIONS BEFORE THE AMBASSADOR LEFT WASHINGTON.

3. OUR PROBLEM IS TENDENCY OF SOME OF OUR PEOPLE TO BE AL-
MOST AS ROMANTIC AS THE POLES IN DISCUSSION OF US-POLISH
RELATIONS. THEY DON'T WANT TO MENTION UNPLEASANT SUB-
JECTS, THE AMBASSADOR HAD TO FORCE BERGLAND'S REFERENCE
TO ISSUE DURING HIS MEETING WITH GIEREK AND,
EVEN THEN, IT WAS NOT EMPHASIZED AS
MUCH AS WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED.

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PAGE 02 WARSAW 04448 271016Z

4. WE STRONGLY SUPPORT EUR THINKING ON HOW TO HANDLE
THIS ISSUE, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD PREFER TO START WITH A
SLIGHT ESCALATION TO CHRISTOPHER LEVEL-WITH NO
DISRESPECT TO NIMITZ. IN THIS MEETING, BY THE WAY,
WE SHOULD NOT RPT NOT EXPRESS GRATIFICATION OVER
RESOLUTION OF ONE (BIEGUNSKI) OF THREE CASES SECRE-
TARY RAISED WITH WOJTASZEK. THIS IS LEAST THEY COULD

DO, AND THEY ARE DOING IT WITH MUCH RELUCTANCE AND
LAST-MINUTE HARASSMENT OF THE PRICIPAL, WHICH WE
HAVE NOT BOTHERED TO REPORT.

5. RE PARA 6 REFTTEL, THE AMBASSADOR HAS EXPRESSED SOME
PUZZLEMENT, SINCE HIS RECOLLECTION OF HIS LAST
CONVERSATION WITH LUERS IS THAT LATTER HAD NO PROBLEM
WITH LINKAGE AS A PRINCIPAL. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT
WITHOUT AT LEAST IMPLICIT LINKAGE, THE POLES WILL NOT
BELIEVE WE ARE SERIOUS AND WILL, AT BEST, MOVE ON
INDIVIDUAL CASES - IF THEY MOVE AT ALL - IN GRUDGING
MANNER DESIGNED TO EXTRACT SOME QUID PRO QUO, EVEN
THOUGH WE MAY HAVE ALREADY PROVIDED THE QUID.

6. WE SHOULD FIND AN OPPORTUNITY - EITHER WHEN
CALIFANO IS HERE - IF HE IS WILLING TO BE HARD-NOSED
- OR IN AMBASSADORIAL MEETING WITH GIEREK - UNDER
INSTRUCTIONS WHICH HAVE WHITE HOUSE CONCURRENCE TO
TIGHTEN SCREWS ANOTHER NOTCH. THEN, IF NECESSARY,
IN THE FALL, WHEN FURTHER GRAIN CREDITS WILL BE-
COME URGENT ISSUE, HIT HIM WITH A PRESIDENTIAL
LETTER. TO DO SO NOW RISKS AN UNACCEPTABLE REACTION
OR FURTHER FOOT-DRAGGING AND COULD FORCE US TO BACK
OFF IN SOMEWHAT IGNOMINIOUS FASHION. ALSO, WE HAVE
PROBLEMS WITH THE TIMING OF A CHIDING PRESIDENTIAL
LETTER TO GIEREK ONLY WEEKS AFTER SENDING HIM A
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PAGE 03 WARSAW 04448 271016Z

BASICALLY FRIENDLY ONE VIA SECRETARY BERGLAND.

7. REGARDING CONTACTS WITH DISSIDENTS, THE NSC APPROVED
GUIDELINES JUST BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO LIMIT
THE VENUE AND INITIATIVE OF OUR CONTACTS. IF THESE
ARE TO BE CHANGED - AND WE THINK THEY SHOULD BE -
WE WILL DRAFT NEW MORE LIBERAL GUIDLINES AND
SUBMIT THEM TO WASHINGTON FOR APPROVAL. WE
WANT NEITHER TO BE BLAMED FOR PAUCITY OF CONTACTS
NOR TO EXPAND THEM WITHOUT CLEAR
REALIZATION IN WASHINGTON OF WHAT THE PRICE IN OUR
OFFICIAL RELATIONS MIGHT BE.
SCHAUFLE

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